

PRESIDENT
GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
ON AFRICA

Information Department
Cairo, U.A.R.

From

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE REVOLUTION

by

PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER

As for the Second Circle — the African Continent Circle — I should say, without the necessity of going into details, that we cannot under any condition, even if we wanted to, stand aloof from the terrible and terrifying battle now ranging in the heart of that continent between five million white ; and two hundred million Africans.

We cannot stand aloof for one important and obvious reason — we ourselves are in Africa.

Surely the people of Africa will continue to look to us — we who are the guardians of the Continent's northern gate, we who constitute the connecting link between the Continent and the outer world.

We certainly cannot, under any condition, relinquish our responsibility to help to our utmost in spreading the light of knowledge and civilisation up to the very depth of the virgin jungles of the continent.

There remains another equally important reason — the Nile the life artery of our country, springs from the heart of the Continent.

There still remains one more reason — the beloved Sudan, whose boundaries extend to the heart of the Continent and which is bound by neighbourly relations with the sensitive spots in its centre.

There is no denying the fact that Africa is now the scene of a strange and stirring commotion. The white man, who represents several European nations, is again trying to change

the map of the Continent. We surely cannot under any condition stand as mere onlookers, deluding ourselves into the belief that we are in no way concerned with these machinations.

Indeed, I shall continue to dream of the day on which I shall see in Cairo, a great Africa Institute, seeking to reveal to us the various aspects of the Continent, to create in our minds an enlightened African consciousness, and to associate itself with all those working in all parts of the world for the progress, prosperity and welfare of the peoples of Africa.

From
THE NATIONAL CHARTER
(May 1962)

— In Bandung, our people spoke with those of the other states of Asia and Africa, the same language they spoke before the great powers in the U.N.

— While our people believe in Arab unity, they also believe in a Pan-African movement and an Afro-Asian solidarity. They believe in a rally for peace, that pools the efforts of those whose interests are associated with it. They believe in a close spiritual bond that ties them to the Islamic world. They believe in belonging to the U.N. and in their loyalty to the U.N. Charter, which is the outcome of the suffering of peoples in two world-wars, separated only by a period of an armed truce.

There is no contradiction or clash between all these ideals in which our people believe. In fact all these ideals form links of one chain.

Our people live at the north-eastern gate of struggling Africa and cannot be isolated from its political, social and economic development.

The insistence of our people on liquidating the Israeli aggression on a part of the Palestine land is a determination to liquidate one of the most dangerous pockets of imperialist resistance against the struggle of peoples. Our pursuit of the Israeli policy of infiltration in Africa is only an attempt to limit the spread of a destructive imperialist cancer.

The insistence of our people on resisting racial discrimination expresses a clear understanding of the real significance of the policy of racial discrimination. In its real nature, imperialism is the foreign domination to which peoples are exposed, aimed at enabling the foreigner to exploit their wealth and

efforts. Racial discrimination is only a type of exploiting the wealth and efforts of peoples. Discrimination between people on the basis of colour paves the way for a discrimination between the value of their efforts. Slavery was the first form of imperialism and those who still pursue the methods of imperialism commit a crime the effects of which are not confined to their victims. They cause damage to the human conscience as whole and impair its victories.

From
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER'S SPEECH
DELIVERED IN PORT SAID
ON THE OCCASION OF VICTORY DAY
(December 23, 1957)

The people of Africa are engaged in bitter battles. Their news are censored and suppressed. The people of Africa demand their legitimate right in life, they demand their freedom and independence.

Today, from Port Said, we call upon the whole world to stand by the principles of justice and by the peoples' right to self-determination.

From Port Said, we address the whole world demanding that every colony should be granted its independence and the right of self-rule. We call for the elimination of racial discrimination in Africa so that the Africans may have equal rights as those enjoyed by all the inhabitants of their own country.

From
Press Interview Granted by
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
to American Editors and Commentators
(January 27, 1958)

The world to-day is completely different from what it was 10 or 15 years ago. The peoples of Africa, for example, have undergone very great changes; they are now totally different from what they were in the past. I feel the world now is much smaller than it was 10 years ago. The African peoples now own wireless sets and broadcasts from all parts of the world are now regularly listened to by these people and they know that wars are being launched for liberation. They also realise that there are different standards of living and that theirs is not like that of the people in the U.S.A. They know a great deal about the modern principles of freedom and peace as well as the struggle of people in different places for freedom.

These people knew nothing about these subjects in the past and now that they know that much, attempts to divide them into spheres of influence will not succeed. The Algerian people — who are about 10 million in number — are now fighting the big powers, as France is using NATO weapons against them. France is spending 4 million pounds daily on her military operations in Algeria, not to mention the great military potential she enjoys in the way of airfields and heavy weapons. But the Algerian people believe in their right to freedom and are, therefore, determined to fight come what may. This is the attitude all small countries would adopt should any attempt at dividing them among the big powers be made. This attitude on the part of small people is due, as I have pointed out, to their adherence to their rights, to the

principles of equality and human rights. As I said at the outset, President Roosevelt had announced some of these principles himself and many peoples in Africa believed that these principles should prevail and be respected. France has inculcated in the Algerians the true meaning of Freedom, Equality and Fraternity, and the Algerian people set about applying these principles in their country. But France withstood them with all her might. It seems France wishes these principles to be applied only within the walls of its schools and universities. Otherwise, how could we explain the contrast between their teachings and their actions. The broadcasts received in all parts of Africa now give the people an insight into what is happening in the world and thus enable them to choose what is in their best interest.

From
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER'S SPEECH
IN REPLY TO Dr. NKRUMAH'S ADDRESS
(June 21, 1958)

ATTAINMENT OF AFRICAN AIMS

Today, when we meet as two African countries, representing free Africa, we look to the future so that Africa may attain this strong independent personality.

We look forward to the day when this personality will be one of the factors for peace in the world, a factor for peaceful coexistence in the world, and a factor for prosperity in the world.

We cannot envisage that so long as Africa is in the throes of imperialism and domination, and so long as Africa's resources are laid bare before non-Africans, and denied to its inhabitants.

We pledge you, here and now, that the United Arab Republic and the people of the United Arab Republic shall strive, as I have mentioned, with all determination and firmness for the sake of the liberation of Africa, and for the cause of supporting liberty and the peoples who struggle for the liberation of Africa, and for the freedom of their countries.

I agree with you, Mr. Prime Minister, that positive neutrality and non-alignment are the policies that will enable us to preserve our independence and to be free and unbound by any foreign policy, free to adopt our policy which aims at laying the foundation of world peace and co-existence in this world. Tying ourselves to the wheels of one of the camps while we are small nations only renders us camp-followers with no

weight or say in anything, whereas an independent policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment would make of our countries a great force which would have its say, and which would be entitled to respect, since we would not then play second fiddle to anyone.

This is our path and these are our principles which we have declared, followed and struggled for. Today we feel happy that we have met on principles that help bring to an end world tension, consolidate world peace, and enhance the development of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

From

**PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER'S SPEECH
TO THE GENERAL CO-OPERATIVE'S CONFERENCE**

(November 27, 1958)

U.A.R. AFRO-ASIAN POLICY

With regard to Asia and Africa, this is our policy. In 1956, Ghana won its independence — Nkrumah waged a long struggle and achieved independence for his country. Imperialist papers publish that here is a rival for Abdel Nasser. This is also reiterated by the imperialist statesmen. Yet I do not see the connection between me and him. We are in North East Africa while he is in Western Africa.

We announced our full support of Africa's independence saying that we would spare no efforts to achieve it.

In September, 1958, Guinea refused to unite with France and proclaimed its independence. The first message of congratulations received by Sekou Touré, the new ruler of Guinea, was from me. Last week, the Premiers of Ghana and Guinea met and proclaimed a union between the two countries. We feel that this union is a major step towards the achievement of African independence. This is why it has our full support.

Yet the British and the Americans say that this union is aimed at Abdel Nasser, though there is absolutely no connection between the two. This has become an obsession. Of course their ultimate aim is to prevent any cooperation between us and to spread discord, hatred and suspicion among us. We support the union of Ghana and Guinea, its independence and pledge to assist it. We hail the struggle of Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, and that of Sekou Touré, the leader of Guinea's struggle.

From
**AN INTERVIEW GRANTED BY
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL-NASSER
TO MR. JOHN A. ZENNEDY,
PUBLISHER AND EDITOR OF
THE U.S. « ARGUS LEADER »**
(May 18, 1959)

As to principles, the peoples of Africa and Asia face today the problem of economic development. The people of Africa and Asia want to make up for a long period in which they had been deprived of the opportunity to live on the same level with other peoples who had preceded them in the fields of development.

I have just told you that we live in a small world in which isolation is impossible. You can have an idea of this by remembering that millions in Africa and Asia have become able today, through radio, to follow in their remote villages news of progress all over the world.

For instance, they know much about the standard of living in the United States. I believe that it is their right — without any envy or malice against the American people — to wish for themselves a similar standard of living and to work for that end and to think of the best means to reach that result.

From
**AN ADDRESS BY
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
ON THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE JULY 23 REVOLUTION
(July 22, 1959)**

We played our part in building Afro-Asian Solidarity both objectively and physically.

When we became free and we acquired our own independent identity in the world society of nations, we proclaimed the principles which were born of our own free will, and our principles were that we would support and stand side by side with every nation fighting for its freedom and its right to self-determination. We declared that we were striving for solidarity between the countries of Africa and Asia, for those two continents suffered, until after World War II, from foreign domination and foreign occupation of their lands.

We also declared that by throwing in our lot with the peoples of Asia and Africa, we were striving to strengthen the independence of all countries which had won their freedom by their own struggle after World War II and that we were supporting every independence movement.

We also announced that we worked for the liberation of Africa and its release from imperialism and foreign domination.

We then announced that it is impossible for 200 million Africans to be ruled by 5 million. We said it was not practical for 5 millions to rule 200 million persons.

We said that the 200 million Africans were deprived of their liberty, independence, wealth and even deprived of their right to live, in addition to suffering from racial segregation.

We announced this and we had faith in every word we said. We felt that we had responsibilities toward helping others to achieve their independence and liberty.

This, brothers, was enough for a generation to be proud of.

From
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER'S
SPEECH IN ROSETTA
(September 19, 1959)

We have responsibilities towards our own country and towards the whole world. We are a small country and a small people but we have a role to play in the world, in world politics and in the world community.

We can make ourselves felt by examples such as the example we gave during the battle of the Canal. That battle was the torch which lit the road of struggle for freedom all over Africa.

Peoples in Africa became aware of their existence and their right to freedom and life. They declared that they would stand face to face with the Big Powers. They declared that they would fight the Big Powers and win.

By setting an example, we can prove that there are in the world spiritual powers more powerful than the methods which they used in Medieval times when they came here to occupy our land.

From

**PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER'S
SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF
LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF
THE HIGH DAM
(January 9, 1960)**

The High Dam project, which we have started today, is a constant stimulant to all the nations of Africa and Asia, reminding them that even though small nations might possess a very limited amount of equipment for atomic destruction, they can always realize the biggest constructional achievements even if they have to dig their way through the rocks with their hands and even if they have to spill their blood in the process.

This is the great significance of the High Dam with regard to the people of the United Arab Republic, to the whole Arab Nation and to the nations of Africa and Asia.

From
**THE INTERVIEW GRANTED BY
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE WEST GERMAN PRESS**

(January 26, 1960)

Question : Do you think there will be a political repercussion for the High Dam in the whole of Africa ?

President : Well, my point of view about Africa is that Africa has national aspirations. All countries, whenever they fulfil their national aspirations, they look forward towards further development. These African countries know that you in Germany were able to rebuild your country in 10 years. They are aware that the German people have realized a miracle and that they were able to build their country at a time when no one thought that this could be possible. So they feel that they can do the same ; they can achieve something and do something for their countries.

From
**THE INTERVIEW GRANTED BY
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
TO THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING
AND TELEVISION SERVICE**

(February 8, 1960)

Q. — The U.A.R. has a truly independent policy towards both the East and the West. Do you think, Mr. President, that the new African Nations — the existing Nations as well as other Nations which are expected to appear in the near future, will follow a similar policy?

A. — The people of these Nations have the first and the last word in determining their own policy.

If we were to give an opinion in the light of our experience, we would say that an independent policy would be the best for the new African nations to follow.

The new African nations, which went through a long period of political struggle towards their independence, would now look forward towards development. These nations would feel that they are racing against time, and that they must double their efforts in order to accomplish the goals of their people.

An independent and unbiased policy would be the only way to obtain means of rapid development from all sources.

From
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER'S
SPEECH AT LATAKIA (SYRIA)
(February 14, 1960)

While we are meeting here, an atomic explosion has taken place on the African Continent. It took place in our sister-state Algeria, which France is attempting to demolish.

We declare here that we strongly condemn the French attitude, and declare that France has no right whatsoever to carry out its atomic tests in the Arab home. The French attitude has been condemned by the whole world.

From
**THE PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
IN DACCA**

(April 13, 1963)

On the South African situation, the President said : « All the Afro-Asian countries support the Africans in South Africa. What is going on there constitutes a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the principles of humanity. I am sure that the whole world is against what is happening in South Africa.

« What is taking place there today has been going on for years. What, then, shocks the world today? It's the world conscience and moral force ».

From
**PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
IN ATHENS**

(June 9, 1960)

Replying to a question about his attitude towards African countries struggling for freedom and independence, the President declared his conviction that all African countries will achieve independence within five to ten years. He said : «that is the current of time, and nobody can stop it. It is silly of those who try to oppose it ».

He asserted that the U.A.R. helps African countries to achieve independence because « we stand for the independence of all countries ».

From
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER'S
SPEECH TO THE U.A.R. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
(July 21, 1960)

Today in Africa there are revolutionary movements for liberation, and we, on our part, have from the first day of our revolution, said clearly that it is not possible for five million Europeans to rule and subjugate 200 million Africans, and that racial discrimination cannot continue in this century.

The rights of man cannot be violated in our times. We announced in 1952 that we support the rights of Africa and the people of Africa for independence. Today we see massacres everywhere.

In the Congo, which attained her independence and signed with Belgium the independence agreement, the Belgians have tried to re-enter from the window. The people of the Congo rose to defend their freedom and independence. The Congolese rose to defend their rights to the riches of their country. The Congo people who for years have been subjugated by the imperialists, and who suffered and had many of their sons killed, rose to enjoy their true freedom and independence. What was the result?

We support the people of the Congo in their fight for freedom against the imperialists. I announced in the name of the people of the U.A.R. that we are prepared to supply the people of the Congo with what it wants, and we are prepared to send them weapons if the Government of the Congo wants weapons. We also support the fight of the Congo for independence.

Looking around us, we find death in Kenya, death in Rhodesia, and death in South Africa. We tell those peoples who are fighting for their freedom that the people of the U.A.R. are with them in their struggle for their freedom and independence.

From
SPEECH DELIVERED BY
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(September 27, 1960)

Four years ago, the African Continent witnessed the end of one of the many forms of colonization. Today the African Continent is witnessing the beginning of a new form of this same colonization.

Suez saw the end and was the graveyard of unveiled armed colonization. Today we find in the Congo the beginning of veiled colonization, the unscrupulous form that attempts to exploit even the United Nations itself — a curtain, hiding behind it its ambitions and manoeuvring behind the scenes for the realisation of its aims.

In fact, the real significance of Suez, insofar as concerns the liberation movements in Asia and Africa, lay in the fact that it signalled the end of that era in which the imperialist forces possessed and were in a position to amass armies and order fleets to strike at the liberation movement. Indeed, the Suez war has proved that freedom has its own arms, that freedom has its own friends everywhere.

When the recent events of the Congo unfolded themselves, they showed us how imperialism had tried to benefit from the Suez lesson in finding for itself an answer to its uncertainties. Thus we saw that Belgian imperialism in the Congo did not meet the African wave of liberation with force. Nor did we see Belgian imperialism confront this liberation movement with hesitation. We saw Belgian imperialism retreating rapidly, or more correctly feigning retreats.

In fact, that apparent imperialist retreat, as we had suspected at the time, did not represent the imperialists' real designs. This swift surrender to freedom, as has later been established by events, was nothing else but a manoeuvre to trick freedom, an attempt to stab it in the back.

Imperialism thought that the surge of freedom was but an emotional eruption, which sooner or later was bound to spend itself, become exhausted and die out.

The trial which the courageous people of the Congo faced — a people whose struggle we uphold and support — was to prove to imperialism that, if freedom with its arms and friends is able to defend herself against armed aggression (as was the case in Suez), freedom has also its thought, awakening and self-consciousness by which it is able to pierce the mask of imperialism and destroy the veils behind which it tries to hide.

However, the greater danger that confronted the people of the Congo, a danger which we ourselves share, is that imperialism is trying to take the United Nations as a mask to conceal its designs. This imperialist manoeuvre today has two victims: the people of the Congo and the United Nations. It is for the sake of both, who face the same danger, that we call on all who believe in freedom and in the United Nations as the foremost way to the development of human society to stand together in their defence.

The United Nations went to the Congo invited by the legitimate government of the Congo, which was born the same day of independence and was, so to speak, its fruition, entrusted with the realisation of two aims to safeguard the independence of the Congo, and to preserve its natural unity.

The first necessitated the withdrawal of imperialist armies. The second imposed the necessity of removing the artificial barriers whereby imperialism and its agents sought to disrupt the country's unity and divide its people.

Let us ask ourselves now, what happened? Let us inquire, where is the independence of the Congo? The answer is that imperialism with its armies and armaments is still in parts of the Congo. Let us inquire, where is the national unity? The answer is an appalling paradox — the legitimate national government of the Congo is unable to function, while the dissident group, alone, has a free hand in Katanga.

It is a situation which is dangerously deteriorating. But the greatest danger is that all this happened while the flag of the United Nations was flying over the Congo. How did it happen? Who is responsible for it? These are questions to which we

have the right — nay it is our duty to answer, not for the sake of the Congo people alone, but also for the sake of the United Nations itself and the honour of its flag.

After all, this one last question remains to be answered: How to face the situation? The answer, in the opinion of the United Arab Republic, is that matters should be restored to what they were. Rectification of the error necessitates that we should re-establish the situation as it was.

The correction of a certain mistake necessitates returning to the point that preceded falling into such a mistake.

If any one of us still imagines that it is hard to go backward, and that accepting accomplished facts would serve as a basis for amending the situation, then let me say aloud and warn that to close one's eye to a mistake would lead to falling into a series of mistakes.

From our personal experience and from the pains suffered by our part of the world, I hereby say and warn that the seeds of the problems, even though they are small, grow bigger if left in the soil. The time element will never succeed in pushing such problems into forgetfulness. On the contrary, these seeds will grow bigger day after day and the element of time will increase their danger and complication.

From
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER'S
SPEECH AT THE U.A.R. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
(October 12, 1960)

In our talks (with President Eisenhower) particular attention was devoted to African issues. He told me that the United States had supported the United Nations in Congo and extended aid to the Congo through the United Nations. He added that the United States was willing to extend further aid devoid of any attempt to secure any dominating position there.

I explained to him that the United Arab Republic was endeavouring to contribute to the purpose of securing the independence of the African countries. I also explained that the African continent should remain aloof from the cold war, and that we would resist any imperialist influence in Africa.

From
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER'S SPEECH
delivered at the National Assembly on
the Results of Casablanca Summit Conference
(January 23, 1961)

It was our opinion that though the problems of Imperialism in the Congo and in Algeria were the most outstanding subjects for discussion in the conference, it should not be forgotten that the struggle against Imperialism in the Congo and in Algeria is part of the struggle against Imperialism in the whole African Continent.

It was our opinion that the problems of Africa are part of the cause of world peace. It is also a vital factor in driving the African struggle towards its aims. Thus the problems of disarmament and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, should be no less in our consideration than the problems of the liquidation of Imperialism and the abolition of racial segregation.

We were also of the opinion that the economic and social development of the African peoples constitutes the pivot on which the whole of the African struggle turns, motives prompting the positive struggle for independence were we to be deprived of the benefits of social justice and economic development.

We were of the opinion that the United Nations is a major factor which should play its role in the service of the fight for freedom and that of economic and social development, and that the extraction of the United Nations from the labyrinth of imperialist machinations is an important battle which all the African peoples and all freedom-loving nations should fight.

We saw that the success of the aims of the African struggle can be achieved if Africa is turned into a constructive meeting-place not into a destructive battleground between the blocs. Freeing the organisations of the United Nations from the grip of imperialism would be a great victory which would lead to the preparation of this constructive meeting-place for the great powers.

We realized that one of our gravest responsibilities is to safeguard the unity of the African march and not to permit imperialism to pull us into branch battles with reactionary elements that are hostile to progress.

We realised that it was inevitable to define the aims of each stage of the African struggle — in other words, the responsibilities we carry must be compatible with our strength in order that we may achieve our aims.

The overall aims of this struggle should remain clear and evident as the driving capacities to carry these responsibilities throughout the successive stages.

From
SPEECH DELIVERED BY
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
AT DAMASCUS ON FEBRUARY 21, 1961

The imperialists aim at suppressing the freedom of the Congo and at placing it within their spheres of influence. We have to comply with our duties towards the Congo and towards Africa. The more independent countries are, the more secure will be our freedom; for dominated countries ruled by stooges constitute a serious menace to freedom everywhere and to the United Nations and its Charter.

We cannot remain idle while the nationalist elements are being liquidated there by the Imperialists and Imperialist stooges. We all know that the Imperialists and their stooges cause nothing but calamities.

This is the reason why we helped and backed the people of the Congo in their struggle for freedom and independence. The battle for freedom is one continuous battle and so is the battle for independence. If we continue our African policy on these lines, then Israel will not be able to set foot in Africa. The French, British and Belgian imperialists have banned Africa for us in those parts which come under their influence. We have an important duty: to warn Africa and the peoples of Africa of this new imperialism, the Zionist imperialism to dominate, exploit and place the African countries within imperialist spheres of influence.

The peoples of Africa and the African leaders, who met in Casablanca, were able to realise the menace of Israel. They saw in Israel a new imperialism. This is from the point of view of combating imperialism, the imperialist stooges and political exploitation.

From
**THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE
ON THE TALKS BETWEEN
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
AND PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE**

(May 17, 1961)

The two Presidents consider it necessary to consolidate the solidarity among the African states, and strengthen true cooperation among them in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, on the basis of effective and unabated action against all kinds of domination and exploitation.

Likewise, the two Presidents emphasize the necessity of working for the consolidation of the African Charter emanating from the Casablanca Conference, to ensure the unity of views and action in the African Continent, free from any foreign influence.

The two Presidents proclaim their full support for the struggle and liberation movements in the various parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The two President deplore the failure of the United Nations to implement its resolutions on the Congo. These resolutions which consolidate the independence of the Congo and preserve its national unity and territorial integrity. They reaffirm the necessity of putting these resolutions into effect without delay.

The two Presidents condemn the disregard by the Government of South Africa for the United Nations resolutions and the resolutions adopted by the African and Asian conferences. Likewise, they strongly deplore its persistence in pursuing the policy of racial discrimination which undermines human val-

ues besides constituting a flagrant violation of the Rights of Man. They strongly press that African countries should apply these resolutions.

They reaffirm their full support to the peoples of Angola for the realisation of their freedom and independence.

The two Presidents also declare their determination to exert all possible efforts for the liberation of African territories which are still under foreign domination and to liquidate colonialism in all its forms.

The two Presidents condemn Israel as being a bridge-head for imperialism in its old and new forms in the Middle East, in Africa and in Asia. Therefore, the two Presidents emphasize the necessity of a just solution of the Palestine problem in conformity with the United Nations resolutions, and to have all the legitimate rights of Palestinian Arabs restored to them.

From
SPEECH DELIVERED BY
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
ON THE OCCASION OF THE NINTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE REVOLUTION ON JULY 22, 1961

We have worked for the sake of African solidarity and succeeded in concluding agreements and reaching practical conclusions. This is because imperialism has enabled Israel to infiltrate into Africa to pave the way for its own re-entry. The Africans were deceived for some time. But now they are fully alive to the fact that Israel is a tool in the hands of new imperialism. Israel is the springboard for imperialism and the vanguard of it. Israel is a screen for imperialism. For all this we support the African peoples in their struggle for liberty and independence.

From
SPEECH
BY PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE
OF AFRO-ASIAN WRITERS
(February 15, 1962)

I think that we, in Asia and Africa, face similar problems and I also believe that we are in need of more understanding of, and contacts with each other to overcome the isolation in which we found ourselves when we suffered from the domination of imperialism, and in order that we may, by our cooperation, help in liberating the peoples who fight and struggle to free themselves of imperialism and to be masters of themselves; I also believe that the liberated peoples who were able to rid themselves of foreign domination and imperialism carry a great responsibility towards the people who are struggling, those who are subjected to imperialism and those who demand their liberty and independence.

The resolution which you adopted today for putting an immediate end to imperialism affected me deeply because the African peoples suffering from domination and imperialism look towards the free countries of the world and especially towards the peoples of Asia and Africa and expect from them every kind of assistance whether moral or material. I believe that moral assistance in itself has a tremendous effect which equals material assistance. World public opinion and the opinion of peoples have a great effect equal to the effect of an atomic bomb. You, the writers of Africa and Asia have a great part to play in this mission. We do not forget that when we were subjected to aggression in 1956 these peoples rose, and the writers of Asia and Africa, free people throughout the world rose to help us in obtaining our rights and to support us against aggression. We were able to achieve victory due to this moral assistance and due to world public opinion. This is the greatest proof that the power of world opinion, and the moral power can overcome navies and the power of navies, the power of big countries and aggression.

From
JOINT COMMUNIQUE
issued at the conclusion of the second session
of the Political Committee of the Casablanca Charter
held in Cairo during the period June 15-17

The Heads of State warn against the attempts of Israel, created by imperialism in the Arab world out of groups of Zionist settlers to endanger its peace and security, and to use Israel as a tool for the achievement of their colonial objectives, namely Israel's infiltration into Africa and its attempts to dominate Africa's economy under a guise of «Economic and Technical Aid».

The Heads of State call upon all African and Asian countries to resist the new technique by which imperialism seeks to maintain its footholds.

The Heads of State invite these States to unite in liberating all people and liquidating colonialism in all its forms and guises and to support the efforts which are being deployed within and without the U.N. to achieve independence of all peoples, and to acquire their full freedom, dignity and integrity.

The Heads of State reassert their continued support for the unity and independence of the Congo. They urge the United Nations to double its effectiveness in order to attain these objectives, and implement its resolutions in this respect, and to help in eliminating all foreign, profiteering elements in the Congo, and in preventing any further foreign intervention and in creating an atmosphere in which the Congo will be able to realise its hopes for independence, integrity and the consolidation of its national economy.

The Heads of State urge all states to support U.N. efforts in implementing the General Assembly resolution passed in its last session, and help the liberation of Ruanda Urundi and

their people from the grip of Belgian Colonialism, and the restoration of their independence and integrity. The Heads of State also call for the evacuation of Belgian Armed Forces, the presence of which endangers the independence of the country and its freedom.

The Heads of State denounce the policy of terrorism and violence which is still being applied by the Portuguese Colonial authorities against freedom-seeking peoples, and particularly the free people of Angola. At the same time, they support the right of the Angolans to self-determination, and call upon the different States to withhold any assistance which might be used by Portugal against the struggling people of Angola. They also urge all peace-loving peoples to help within and outside the United Nations the Angolan people to regain their freedom and independence.

In order to ensure a major and complete success of the National Liberation Movements in all Africa, the Heads of State solemnly appeal to all political parties to establish in every territory a front of action englobing all the nationalist forces despatched for the sacred struggle against the colonial power in all its forms.

The Heads of State denounce colonial plans which aim at the domination of the settlers over territories which are still under colonial administration, and to usurp their wealth by depriving their real inhabitants of their rights through the implementation of the policy of racial discrimination in all fields. The Heads of State, therefore, condemn in particular the imposition of the Federation of Central Africa upon the peoples of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the dictation upon these people of constitutions which would serve imperialistic aims.

The Heads of State support the right of the peoples of these territories to self-determination and independence and urge that effective ways and means be exerted to allow these territories to enjoy their legitimate rights of self-government and independence.

The Heads of State denounce the imperialistic schemes of the government of South Africa which envisage the domination of the territory of South West Africa, either by partition or annexation.

The Heads of State stress the necessity of the preservation of the territory's integrity and the realization of its legitimate goals of independence and freedom.

The Heads of State, noticing that the world has not yet rid itself completely of the manifestations of the policy of apartheid, which is a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, regret to find the Government of South Africa, regardless of the several resolutions adopted by the United Nations in that regard, continue to adopt such a hateful policy. The Heads of State deeply condemn that government for its flagrant defiance of world public opinion.

The Heads of State urge all countries to abide by United Nations resolutions regarding the cessation of nuclear explosions, particularly the resolution which proclaimed Africa a nuclear-free Continent.

They also call upon atomic powers to revert to the moratorium on nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests until an agreement is reached to ban all such tests.

The Heads of State of the Casablanca Charter call upon all States of the world to support the efforts by neutralist non-aligned States in the Disarmament Conference now being held in Geneva, as well as the attempts by such States to bring more closely together the points of view of the two conflicting blocs and seek those points on which both blocs agree for the realisation of total disarmament under an effective system of supervision and control. It was the Conference of the Heads of State or Government of non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade which urged that a Disarmament Conference should be held and that number of Non-Aligned States participate therein. Though the safety of the human race is particularly linked to the resolutions adopted by the Great Powers yet, it is, the same time, the responsibility of the world as a whole since the evils of war or the blessings of peace are universal and affect every part of the world without exception.

In implementation of the declarations of the Belgrade Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries which called upon all developing states to cooperate in economic and true fields so that they may counter the

policy of pressure exerted by the economic groupings of industrial states as well as avoid the harmful results of such groupings the Heads of State support the convening of a Conference on problems of economic development, in Cairo, from 9th to 18th July, in order to discuss mutual economic problems of the developing countries; agree on the effective means of removing all possible impediments to their growth, and discuss and agree upon the effective measures for the promotion of their economic and social development. In this connection, the Heads of State call upon all countries, particularly the industrial powers, to remove all commercial barriers, especially those on commodities and raw materials exported by the developing countries, open their markets to these products and help stabilise their prices, since the developing countries depend on their turnover in acquiring foreign currencies which they use in financing their development projects.

The Heads of States, reaffirming the liberal principles of the Casablanca Charter and its resolutions, and the determination of the Charter States to support freedom movements all over Africa, the realization of its unity, the liberation of African territories that are still under foreign domination; and freeing the African Continent of all political interference or economic pressure.

Favour close consultations and co-operation between all the independent States of Africa to safeguard their independence and further their economic development and social evolution.

They welcome the adherence by any independent African State to the Casablanca Charter and to any or all of the agreements emanating from it.

The Heads of State call for African solidarity embracing all African States, the nucleus of which would be the grouping of African Independent States. This can be discussed at a conference comprising all African States.

The Heads of State have reviewed the steps undertaken to implement the Casablanca Charter in the military, economic and cultural spheres. Foremost among these is establishing the Military Staff Command affiliated to the Joint African High Command, which aims at ensuring the common defence of

Africa in case of aggression against any part of that Continent and in order to safeguard the independence of African States.

Equally, the setting up of an African Development Bank, African Payments Union, African Common Market, Council for African Economic Unity, in addition to the several economic agreements concluded among the setting up of the Telecommunication and Postal Unions, all this have provided the Charter Member-States with the possibilities for increased economic cooperation, furthering their development projects and increasing their solidarity for resisting the harmful effects of economic blocs, with a view to raising the standard of living of their peoples and realising their prosperity.

Furthermore, cultural agreements for technical, scientific, and administrative co-operation have been concluded among the Charter member-states with the aim of creating wider scopes of understanding among the peoples and bringing out the revival of African legacy and developing scientific exchanges among them.

While expressing their satisfaction with the steps already accomplished towards strengthening the ties and promoting relations among the member-states of the Charter, as well as the realization of the goals and the hopes aspired to by the African Nations, the Heads of State deem it necessary to redouble all efforts in order to achieve the ultimate goal of complete unity in all fields.

From
SPEECH BY
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE POLITICAL
COMMITTEE OF THE CASABLANCA CHARTER

(June 15, 1962)

Before passing on the chairmanship of this session of the African Charter Political Committee to the Prime Minister of the Algerian Government, permit me to make a quick review of the accomplishments achieved by the efforts of the Casablanca Powers as follows:

Politically: Full cooperation among nations in foreign affairs. This cooperation is most evident at the United Nations and other world organisations. Apart from the direct and positive effect of the cooperation on the causes of freedom and peace, it has indirectly contributed to the confirmation of the African personality and to the consolidation of the liberation movements potential in Africa, for these movements know that the Casablanca Charter member-states are their allies and support.

Economically: Numerous agreements have been concluded which without any doubt are of importance and consequence. These accords include the establishment of an African Common Payments Union and African Bank, an African Economic Union, Council, an African Civil Organisation, and an African Postal Union, apart from the agreements on technical and economic cooperation, maritime transportation, and telecommunications.

Culturally: The Casablanca member-states have signed a cultural agreement as well as an accord for technical, scientific and administrative cooperation.

Military: The Casablanca member-states have formed an African Military Staff under the Joint High Command.

These relations have further been consolidated by the Casablanca member-states' moves to strengthen bilateral co-operation between them. This confirms their determination to adhere to the Charter they signed in January, 1961.

Friends, great events have taken place since the first session of the Political Committee. The Casablanca member-states have taken part in these events and have contributed their sincere efforts to them.

These countries participated in the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned States in September 1961. It was indeed a happy coincidence that when the conference decided to send delegations to both Washington and Moscow, with a peace message voiced by the nations at the Conference and reflecting the conscience of others, President Modibo Keita participated in delivering the message to Washington while President Kwame Nkrumah participated in delivering it to Moscow.

Moreover, a group of Casablanca member-states took a positive part in the Geneva disarmament conference and exerted sincere efforts to bring nearer the day when that human objective so full of hope is realised.

Brethren, it is nevertheless our duty to look at the other side of the picture. Before us in Africa are dangerous and complicated problems.

Endless African riches are still stolen from their owners, looted by the settlers or by foreign monopolising firms.

Some fifty millions in Africa still live under the yoke of imperialist domination and military bases.

In Africa, these still exist veiled violations of rights showing the forces which conflict with law and justice — the advocates of racial discrimination such as the Government of South Africa, the advocates of a secession such as the Katanga Government and the tools of imperialist infiltration such as Israel.

All this apart, there still are the problems of years of underdevelopment imposed on the peoples of Africa. These problems today stand in their way as a strong barrier which they must overcome irrespective of sacrifices so that these

peoples can soar to the heights borne aloft with hope in the second half of the 20th century.

While it is our duty to make every sacrifice to overcome underdevelopment, it is at the same time our right to ask for the efforts of many others who have no right to monopolise prosperity for their benefit alone ; in fact, they cannot, for the world cannot live in peace while some are rich and the majority are in need.

From
**THE MESSAGE OF
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
TO THIRD AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES SOLIDARITY
CONFERENCE HELD AT MOSHI, TANGANYIKA,
February 4-11, 1963
February 5, 1963.**

« At this time Asian and African solidarity is being put to the test, after having sprung from the principles of Bandung, solid and strong, and having with confidence and faith fought battles with imperialism and having succeeded in wresting from its grip the freedom of peoples and their capacities for constructive work for sufficiency and justice :

« At these moments of trial for Asian and African solidarity which emerges stronger from each battle to add nation after nation to the list of independent nations and to hoist the flag of liberty over homeland after homeland ;

« At these critical moments, I wish your conference success in scoring a further victory in the Asian and African peoples endeavour to secure the bonds of solidarity, strengthen the ties of friendship amongst them, and help to solve problems amongst them in a spirit of cordiality, love and peaceful coexistence which it was always your incentive to work for and was our guiding beacon at Bandung and at every conference which brought together the nations of Asia and Africa.

From
JOINT COMMUNQUE
ON TALKS IN CAIRO BETWEEN U.A.R.
AND ALGERIAN DELEGATIONS
(March 27, 1963)

It is a foregone conclusion that the United Arab Republic and the Algerian Republic have made and are making every effort to coordinate their plans for joint action and cooperation to champion liberation movements throughout the African Continent and to extend every assistance for the liberation of all territories which are still under foreign domination, particularly Angola. They are also striving to liquidate colonialism in all its forms, to put an end to racial discrimination and to resist all attempts to make of African soil a field for atomic tests which are renounced by all people on all continents.

In the field of African cooperation and its coordination, there was manifest interest in all the efforts being made to bring together all the independent African countries.

From
**PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER'S MESSAGE
TO AFRICAN PEOPLE ON « AFRICA DAY »
(April 17, 1963)**

While celebrating Africa Day, the people of the U.A.R. share with the peoples of the African continent the joy of victory and the hope of the future. The U.A.R. people share with the African peoples the carrying of the torch of liberty and struggle.

The U.A.R. people renewed their pledge to resume their struggle for the liberation of every inch of the territories of the continent. At the Northern entrance to the African continent the U.A.R. people raise the liberty torch which they stand ready to defend by shedding their blood and sacrificing themselves. The light of this torch grows greater through the increase of the power of the liberation upsurge and through the victory of the African people in their struggle.

The U.A.R. people, who have been given an opportunity to liberate and express their will felt their responsibility towards the national movement directed towards political and economic domination in Africa.

The U.A.R. people engaged imperialism in bitter battles not only for their freedom and welfare but also for the liberation of their brothers in humanity from exploitation and monopoly.

These battles will not end after the liberation of all African peoples from domination, exploitation and monopoly.

Apartheid is still practised in Africa in its meanest and most shameful forms. Imperialism still usurps the wealth and resources of some African countries.

Since independent exploited countries have shown their tendency towards solidarity to defend their own interest, other

peoples wishing freedom should cooperate and consolidate to face up to that exploiting alliance, and rid themselves of the traces of the past.

« Our people believe in an African League as a basis for the solidarity and cooperation of African States, and hope that the coming meeting of African peoples in unity and welfare ».

From
THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE
CONCERNING DISCUSSIONS IN ALGIERS
BETWEEN PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
AND PRESIDENT AHMED BEN BELLA
(May 8, 1963)

The two Presidents denounced the attitude of the imperialist countries in their opposition to, and denial of the right of the peoples to liberty and independence. They denounced the war of extermination which Portugal is waging in Angola and Mozambique. They also denounced the hateful policy of racial discrimination, and the imperialist policy which aims at imposing the domination of the minority of settlers over the will of the African peoples in South Africa, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia ; and declared their full support for the right of all the people, who are still subjected to foreign domination, to freedom and independence.

The two Presidents agreed on coordinating the policy of their two countries, uniting their efforts and cooperating in support of the liberation movements in Africa.

From

**JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE VISIT
OF PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
TO THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
(May 16, 1963)**

The two Presidents accuse most rigorously and condemn the policy of racial discrimination which is obstinately conducted by the Government of the South African Republic, expressing hope that, thanks to the pledging of all members of the U.N., such a policy will, without delay, be ceased.

The two Presidents point out their satisfaction that, since their last meeting new countries in Africa had been liberated from the long colonial domination. At the same time they energetically condemn the trends of neo-colonialist forces to deviate the natural process of emancipation and consolidation of independence of new countries.

The two Presidents expressed their conviction that the forthcoming conference of the Heads of State and Governments of independent African countries in Addis Ababa gives an opportunity for better understanding among African countries, for improvement of their mutual cooperation, for the forcing of total liquidation of all forms of colonialism and foreign domination, as well as the forcing of general emancipation and unity of Africa, which is of essential interest for the benefit of the whole community.

In the course of the talks, the significance of the decision brought by representatives of the U.A.R., Irak and Syria on the creation of a federation, is an expression of the trends of African peoples towards unity and progress.

FROM PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER IS ADDRESS
TO THE AFRICAN SUMMIT CONFERENCE
IN ADDIS ABABA
May 24, 1963

The U.A.R. feels that the African Continent faces today the most serious phase of its struggle. If we should say that the banners of independence which have been hoisted on the continent throughout recent years are a testimony to the fact that the birth of freedom has taken place, the birth alone, even with its spectacular miracle is not enough; freedom must be sound and complete, capable of facing the responsibilities of life in our age.

Hence, following the miracle of birth, in our view, the continent now faces the challenges of life and it should, amidst difficult circumstances, prove its fitness for survival and development — much further, its ability to renew and evolve life itself.

— There exists that colonialism which has not totally and fully been eradicated from all parts of the continent.

— There exists that racial discrimination and apartheid imposed on some parts of the continent by those who loot its riches, and enslave its labour.

— There exists that disguise behind military pacts to make of the peoples' soil, bases by which to threaten them.

— There exists those attempts at forging new colonialist tools which infiltrate under the banner of the United Nations and which brought to the Congo its violent crisis.

— There exists that insistence on making of the continent a mere warehouse for raw materials at prices which fail to satisfy the hunger of its people while the total benefit goes to the importing countries.

— There exists the extent even of making of the lands

of the peoples of the continent a field for nuclear tests without the consent of those peoples.

— There exists that usurpation of the land of peoples, denying it to its legitimate owners and allowing it to settlers who came from afar.

— There exists the problem of the terrifying underdevelopment, within the confines of which live the majority of the peoples of the continent and which provides the frightening gap between the living standards in this continent and those in other continents which preceded it in progress.

— There exists that problem of social inequality which does not afford the citizens within the one country an equitable opportunity for life.

In all those domains the continent is in need of extensive aid. The U.A.R. has its view on the matter of foreign aid. It finds it to be an obligation upon those who preceded in progress, towards the underdeveloped peoples... a right on human interdependence and the consolidation of peace.

— There exists the border problems between numerous African States — these frontiers we all know how they were sometimes traced and how they were laid down.

— There exists the residues of the past which left behind numerous dark stains on the continent and which now call for massive efforts in the fields of education and culture to achieve the liberation of the African man from all the unseen shackles which bind and impede his movement.

The United Arab Republic feels that this stage of the African struggle requires first and foremost a free and one African will.

There is no doubt that this conference is in itself proof of the existence of a free and one African will. Thus, the mere convening of this conference is not less important than any resolutions issued therefrom.

This is confirmed by the fact that all the traditional divisions which imperialism tried to impose on the continent to rend it apart to North of Sahara and South of the Sahara,

to white, black and coloured Africa, to East and West, to French-speaking Africa and English-speaking Africa, have all collapsed and were swept away by the genuine African reality. There remains but one language on African land ... the language of the one destiny, no matter what the method of expression.

Colonialism will not withdraw from the parts it still occupies in our continent just because we scream that the continuation of its presence humiliates us.

To eradicate racial discrimination and apartheid, it is not enough to brand them as a humiliation to mankind as a whole in this and every other age, but it is imperative that there should be a valiant resistance by all means and ways until we reach the weapon of total boycott by which we can change this state of affairs.

For effective boycotting by all means and ways we are in need of an organising mind and dynamic nerves.

Military pacts will not fall by themselves as Autumn leaves... Looting of raw materials will never end and the looters will never be satisfied.

Likewise, problems lurking in our continent... the problems of underdevelopment in all African countries problems of social disparity within every African country and the development, border and education problems, all call for the same thing... an organising mind and sensitive nerves, so long as we all view them with the same eye and believe in the necessity of finding solutions to them.

This does not mean for one moment that Africa should become an international bloc or that African endeavour should be isolated from the march of human progress as a whole.

What we need are an African organising mind and African dynamic nerves to guide the free and one African will facing the problems and challenges which stand in front of the continent and hamper its potentiality for the evolution of its life, and as a result, reduces its contribution to the drive of human progress. This is the mission awaiting this Conference : the measure of its success in this mission is the measure

of its fulfilment of its historic responsibilities toward Africa and towards humanity.

What we need are powerful engines to generate the power from our great aspirations and unlimited potentialities and to direct this power.

Let there be an African League.

Let there be a Charter for all Africa.

Let there be periodical meeting of the African Heads of State and the peoples representatives in the continent.

Let there be anything.

Let us entrust it with whatever plans we wish. Let us fix a final date for the liquidation of colonialism ; let us lay down projects for cultural and scientific cooperation ; let us embark on the coordination of our economic cooperation towards an African common market.

We have come here without selfishness; even the problem which we consider to be one of our most serious problems, namely that of Israel, and on which the Casablanca Member States rightly share our view that it is one of the tools of imperialist infiltration to the continent and one of its bases of aggression we shall not submit this problem for discussion at this meeting in the conviction that the progress of free African endeavour will, through trial, reveal the truth, day after day and lay it unmasked before African conscience.

At this conference, the United Arab Republic delegation is ready to exert its utmost, honestly and sincerely, for the sake of reaching the formula which provides the free and one African will with an organising mind and dynamic nerves.

From
JOINT COMMUNIQUE
ON TALKS IN CAIRO BETWEEN
PRESIDENT SALLAL OF YEMEN
AND PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
(June 17, 1963)

During these talks, President Gamal Abdel Nasser outlined the achievements of the African Heads of State and Governments at Addis Ababa and the victory scored by that historic conference when African will, unanimously approved an African unity charter, agreed to follow the road of freedom and development for African countries and pledged to work together to destroy the remnants of imperialism in this continent and meet the challenges of backwardness.

From
**JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON TALKS BETWEEN
H.E. EL HAG HAMANI DIORI, PRESIDENT OF NIGER,
AND PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
(July 10, 1963)**

In the course of these talks, the two Presidents reviewed essential problems relating to the national policy of their countries, to the evolution of the continent of Africa, and to international matters. The two Presidents expressed their satisfaction at results achieved by the conference of the Heads of States of the independent African countries, at the steps taken hitherto for reinforcing cooperation between them in all political, economic, cultural and technical fields, with a view to achieving progress and realising the aspirations of African peoples for liberty, equality and unity.

The two Presidents stressed the importance of joint action between African nations in all domains, for conservation and consolidation of their independence, which they acquired after strenuous struggle and increasing efforts in the cause of ensuring prosperity and welfare to their people, and eradicating colonialism in all its forms from Africa, and in the cause of assisting all African countries, still dominated by foreigners, in obtaining their independence.

The two Presidents denounced the policy of some colonising countries, in particular, Portugal, towards African nations struggling for their independence — a policy directed towards the suppression of liberation movements, and disavowal of the people's rights for self-determination, and obtaining their liberty and independence; a policy also directed by certain colonising fascist countries towards racial discrimination, particularly in South Africa, against the resolutions of the United Nations and international pacts and the rights of man.

The two Presidents emphasize their full support of all colonised nations struggling for their legitimate rights as well as the firm intention of both their countries for implementing the resolutions of the Adis Ababa conference of the Heads of States of the independent African States in this connection.

From
**THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON TALKS BETWEEN
IVORY COAST PRESIDENT FELIX HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY
AND PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
(July 16, 1963)**

An exchange of talks took place between Presidents Gamal Abdel Nasser and Houphouet-Boigny in an atmosphere of friendliness and mutual understanding, during which the situation of Africa was reviewed in the light of results achieved by the Conference of Independent African Countries. They stressed their intention to implement all joint resolutions taken by the Adis-Ababa Conference. The two Presidents confirmed the necessity for joint action of all African countries, in all domains, in the cause for consolidating political independence and realising economic liberty, — this being the only course to ensure welfare and prosperity for their people by eliminating colonialism under all its forms.

The two Presidents recognised that these objectives can only be realised in an atmosphere of peace. They insist upon the positive role which Africa must play for the maintenance of universal peace.

From
**THE SPEECH BY PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
AT ALEXANDRIA UNIVERSITY
ON THE ELEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTION
(July 28, 1963)**

We should also work in the African field of scientific research. A congress met in Addis Ababa and made resolutions which represent a turning point in the history of the African continent. For the first time, representatives of 32 independent African nations met and agreed upon a Charter of African unity and on the creation of a common market and on increase of co-operation. During long years, we were kept isolated from Africa ; colonialism prevented us, and separated us from unity with Africa ; and today, we find our brothers in Africa extending their hands to us, and we find that we are in need of increasing our knowledge about Africa. Who can undertake this task, instead of translating books from foreign languages and relying on them, we should count on scientific research, on visits to Africa. The universities are our vanguard in this field ; they can make the researches and give us the correct results, the sound solution for an African solidarity, for tightening the relations between the United Arab Republic and African countries. We shall no longer rely only on books written by foreigners which may contain distorted informations misleading dissertations.

From
SPEECH BY PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
ON AFRICA DAY
(September 18, 1963)

« At this meeting at which we celebrate Africa Day, we are honoured to send greetings to the struggling peoples of the African continent, greetings to their strong solidarity while they are waging battles for the eradication of colonialism, reaction and racial discrimination and for the establishment of a life of freedom and prosperity.

« We also present, on the Africa Day, greetings of gratitude to all struggling brothers who sacrificed their lives on Africa soil in defence of its freedom and its peoples' right to liberty and progress. The African peoples will go on struggling and working with determination and firmness for the achievement of the objectives and ideals for which they have offered their lives.

« Our celebration of Africa Day this year has a special, profound significance, for our peoples now are at the climax of a struggle which is being watched by all the peoples of the world, and which echoes and re-echoes everywhere.

« The world today witnesses a grave new stage of this struggle which is showing all imperialist complexes and traces that are being swept today by the African peoples' march. This is the struggle — all the free peoples of the world are with us — arising from the clinging of Portuguese colonialism to its fallen positions and from the rule built on the crime of racial discrimination in South Africa and Rhodesia.

« The truth about the conflict between us and the forces of imperialism and reaction is that we are now working for the clear and definite cause of liquidating imperialism once and for all; for destroying racial discrimination; and for making possible the full liberation of the African will so it might proceed forth, over all obstacles, to the establishment of freedom and prosperity throughout the entire African Continent.

« The definition of liquidation of imperialism, as unanimously agreed upon by the African peoples, is the destruction of all the roots and residues of imperialism, and bringing about sound economic conditions which would safeguard our Continent from the return of imperialism in any form.

« The liberation of the economics of the African peoples and their pursuit of the right path to their national objectives for the welfare of Africans, requires full economic coordination and constructive cooperation which would contribute to African political solidarity and enhance their unanimous will to eliminate imperialism and imperialist influence.

« Moreover, the characteristic cultures of the African peoples should also contribute to the concerted African action for a better life.

« Gentlemen, our Charter has pointed out our belief that a league of African States will be the tie binding our peoples, their common interests, their common struggle aimed at the restoration of the African peoples' usurped rights, and the building their common future.

« We are sure, as the U.A.R. stated at the Addis Ababa conference last May, of the existence of a free African will. The liberation and the uniting of this will necessitates sincere work for the realisation of Africa's hope in freedom, dignity and peace based on justice.

« Today, at the height of our struggle for the liquidation of colonialism and the eradication of apartheid, while we are perpetuating our solidarity in full and effective support of our brothers who are taking up arms or those suffering persecution because they refused to live below the human standards, we declare that Africa, as a continent, as represented in the U.N., or in its relations with other countries, is no longer the same Africa torn to pieces by colonialism that aimed at exploiting its riches and humiliating its people.

« The new Africa has a common will, common objectives and common belief in the freedom, progress, peace and cooperation among the people.

« Gentlemen: While celebrating Africa Day, it is our duty and our right to refer to certain steps recently taken by

African peoples to put into effect the decisions and proposals of the African Summit, to realise a unified African will and action.

« These steps are represented by Africa's trend aimed at meeting around what would unify and close African ranks, thus giving a chance for complete destruction of the imperialist clutches and to clear the pockets which imperialism is trying to maintain in order to use them as bases from which to renew its aggression against the African peoples and their future.

« We look forward to the future with great hopes that the unified African action will go along the path defined by the struggle of the African peoples in various political, economic and cultural fields, so that such action will achieve its glorious goals, so that Africa will occupy its rightful place in the concert of nations, and so that the African peoples will play their part in the realisation of prosperity and peace for the whole of humanity ».

From
**THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE TALKS BETWEEN
THE U.A.R. AND CEYLON AT THE CONCLUSION
OF THE VISIT TO THE U.A.R. OF THE HON.
MRS. BANDARANAIKA, PRIME MINISTER OF CEYLON**
(October 13, 1963)

The two leaders also discussed the recent developments in the continent of Africa. They welcomed the new spirit of resurgent Africa established after the meeting of Heads of States at Addis Ababa and embodied in the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity. They consider that this spirit of unity and cooperation will contribute greatly towards the well being and progress of the people of Africa and lead to the liberation of nations still oppressed by colonial rule.

From

THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF U.A.R.—ETHIOPIA
ISSUED AT THE END OF EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE'S
OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE U.A.R.

(November 6, 1963)

The two Heads of State agreed on the necessity of holding a ministerial meeting of the Organisation of African States as soon as possible to confirm the Bamako Conference scheduled for June, 1964, and the two Heads of State agreed that such a conference would further strengthen the ties binding the African countries together and promote cooperation and solidarity among them so that they might eradicate the remnants of imperialism in Africa as well as racial discrimination still practised by the Government of South Africa.

From
**THE ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
AT INAUGURAL SESSION IN CAIRO
OF AFRICAN LABOUR MINISTERS' CONFERENCE**

(December 10, 1963)

— I speak of African unity as a hope, a struggle and a destiny.

The powers which dominated the African continent did not content themselves by its exploitation but exerted their utmost efforts to guarantee this exploitation — to dismember the continent materially and intellectually and completely dissolve its character so it would continue living in darkness forever. But the will of life was to the continent more powerful than any attempt of subjugation by arms, and deeper than any exploitation drawing up plans for its transformation into a farm, a mine and storage space for raw materials.

The will for life in the African continent proved its power and depth when it accepted the call for African freedom through the attempt to discover the African character and the surge towards the one African action which expressed itself lastly in the Charter of African Unity, the Charter of Addis Ababa. Such a result seemed a few years ago to be a fight for the impossible. Reaching its, despite all this, is proof of the sound method and aim, and before everything else proof of the creative vitality of this great continent.

Egypt realised that it shouldered its share of responsibility of the African future which it should bear. Egypt was not alone in this. It was its concern for responsibility for the African future that carried Egypt to Casablanca ; then to the Addis Ababa Conference of representatives of all Africa — a meeting of all those came forth with courage and honour to shoulder the responsibility for the African future.
Brethren

The labour force in Africa was, in many parts of the continent, the vanguard of work for liberation.

What we in Africa suffer from most at the moment is racial segregation and in reality it is only the last remnants of this drudgery which aims at the spoliation of the African labour power in addition to the plunder of the African wealth. This segregation which we observe in some parts of Africa is nothing but a remnant of the organised plunder of the natural and human resources of the continent.

If we aspire to fulfill our responsibility to the future of Africa, then African work alone is capable of removing all vestiges of backwardness and arrive to new horizons of modern progress.

Our continent is moving steadily forward towards the future, and hope springs before us on all fields. It is showing contemporary history and is adding to it, a new and glorious chapter in the struggle of humanity and its bravery in the defence of life and the dignity and honour of life.

From
THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE
BY PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
AND PRIME MINISTER CHOU EN LAI

(December 26, 1963)

It was agreeable to both parties to remark that since the meeting of Bandung conference in which both China and the United Arab Republic participated and assumed a vital role, great victories were realised by African and Asian nations in their struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Both parties supported the erection of atomically demilitarised zones in all parts of the world: They also announced their collaboration with the efforts directed to this object and referred in particular to the resolutions of the African Summit Conference held in Addis Ababa in May 1963 for declaring Africa an atomically demilitarised zone.

The Asian and African nations must aid and support one another so as to develop a joint economic force. It is unnecessary that Asian and African nations should stop their mutual dealings, or cease to strengthen their trade and economic relations with the other countries of the world. However such trade and economic relations should be founded on principles of equality. It is inadmissible that aid should be utilised as a means for economic exploitation of Asian and African countries or for interference in their internal affairs or violating their sovereignty.

The two sides have agreed that the basic interests of the Afro-Asian peoples lie in increasing Afro-Asian solidarity and mutual support and firm cooperation among them.

From
SPEECH BY PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF ARAB UNITY
(February 2, 1964)

The Arab peoples are looking forward to the day when the Arab nation can celebrate complete foreign evacuation from Libya and the liquidation of foreign bases there which grew out of the colonialist residues of the Second World War. Libya, now an independent country had entered into an agreement with Britain, giving her bases and establishing an alliance with her. Libya did so because she had no resources of her own. Under the agreement she obtained L.E. 3 million in aid annually. Today after the discover of oil, in Libya, the Libyan budget is L.E. 45 million. We hope that Libya will increase her national wealth but we also hope that she will remove the military bases — on her territory because foreign bases are a menace to Libya and to the entire Arab nation. We cannot trust Britain on her policy because it was Britain which attacked us in 1956 and whose Prime Minister today regrets in fact that the 1956 invasion was not completed. Both Britain and the United States support Israel while all the Arabs are opposed to Israel. If we make a stand against Israel what guarantee can we have that we shall not be attacked from the American and the British bases in Libya.

TEXT OF CABLES
FROM PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
TO EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE OF ETHIOPIA
AND PRESIDENT ADEN OSMAN OF SOMALIA

(February 12, 1964)

«It is our view that battles should cease immediately, bloodshed stopped and that the dispute should be taken up within the framework of African unity to be settled in accordance with the policy of good neighbourliness, on the basis of justice and by peace.

«Any African blood shed under the present circumstances constitutes not only loss in human life but also a loss, the price of which is paid at the expense of African solidarity, African unity and African dignity».

From
THE ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
AT STATE BANQUET
GIVEN IN HONOUR OF PREMIER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV
On May 9, 1964

Our people are aware that the cause of freedom is indivisible and that the cause of prosperity is indivisible. Therefore, the struggle of the Asian and African peoples is not waged in isolation of the struggle of the Arab Nation. In addition, responsibilities of the development of the African continent in particular, following its liberation, calls for gigantic efforts so that imperialism should not infiltrate and return to it under the pressure of underdevelopment or behind deceiving marks such as the Israeli mark which imperialism tries actively to make use of in Africa.

From
**THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE TALKS BETWEEN
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER
OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC
AND
PREMIER NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV,
PRIME MINISTER OF THE U.S.S.R.
(May 25, 1964)**

The two sides express their full moral and material support to the sons of the South of the Arabian Peninsula, Oman and Aden, and the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, Portuguese Guinea, South Africa and others in their struggle against colonialism and the agents of foreign domination. Both sides resolutely denounce the atrocious actions perpetrated by imperialism against the patriots of those countries.

The two sides denounce the policy of racial discrimination pursued by the government of South Africa, that policy which is completely contrary to the United Nations Charter, to the principles of Human Rights and to all principles and ideals of international ethics.

The Governments of the U.A.R. and the Soviet Union urge the states that have not yet complied with the resolutions of the United Nations concerning the cessation of dealing with the government of South Africa to implement those resolutions forthwith so as to force that government to enable the original inhabitants of that country to enjoy their national rights.

The two sides consider that the policy of racial discrimination, pursued by imperialism in a number of African countries is humanitarian crime committed by imperialism against mankind.

The two sides wish every success to the forthcoming conference of the heads of African states and governments, expected to be held in Cairo during 1964. They expressed their hope that its decisions and steps will contribute towards the strengthening of solidarity between African countries as well as the progress and prosperity of the peoples of that Continent.